1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

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CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

131 THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

101 131 On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

114 131 For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientation

101 174 174 621 A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

114 174 621 From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

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"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the existence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida chiefs are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.
[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.
[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

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affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

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> The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{u}", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

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even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

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ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta'x^{u}]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

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Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Déné Race*, pp. 138 f.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

131x 114 SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward[1] and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.[2] In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.[3]

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

131x 173 In a previous paper[4] I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625–34, 1937.

[2] Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

[3] James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

[4] Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99–152, 1936).

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[43]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[44]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[45] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[43] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[44] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[45] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."	4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political units, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.
5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.	5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.
6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.	6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.
7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.	7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.
8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.	8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

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The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika's, eaters).[58] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[58] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.